196 secretly replaces the object in the new thatch. A white ox is sacrificed at the well.

The information collected on this ceremony is still fragmentary but the color of the clothing worn by those officiating, that of the victim, the number of bands of the loin-cloth, and the number of cowrie shells given by the griot to his sister, the origin of the gravel used as the seat for the Kéita are evidence that we have here a ritual executed under the protection of Faro (see Chap. II)

175 As early as the fourteenth century numerous travelers described the Bambara /xv/as organized into small groups headed by a chief and more or less submitting to the neighboring empires. This state of affairs lasted until the period of the Peul invasion of this region (in the seventeenth century) which founded two kingdoms and created a local aristocracy of mixed Peul and Bambara blood. The first of these kingdoms was that of Ségou, the history of which is partly known (1). The investigations centered particularly in this area; the chief

1. On the history of the Bambara we refer the reader to the well documented volume of L. Tauxier. Histoire des Bambara.

town which was a capital for a long time retains the traces of a well [197] organized legal system and religion. It is also in this area that, according to specialists, the purest dialect is spoken. (2)

2. The children of families sufficiently [556 191] wealthy to afford it were formerly sent to Ségou to live with affinals in order to learn how to speak well an elegant and pure language.

197 The Bambara dialects belong to the sub-group of Mandingo languages 212 of the Nigero-Senegalese group. (3) The Bambara know certain

3. See A. Meillet et M. Cohen. Les Langues du Monde /Languages of the World/, p. 546.

*173 is known as the solo (1); they sought [19] a remedy to this

[551]

1. Solo is a woman's surname.

calamity by emigrating. Some went to Dia-bolo near Djenné; others went to Nya Ngolo-la in Kaminiadougou.

Is there a relationship between the origin of the Koulcubali family just discussed and that of the Kouloubali founders of Ségou and Kaarta? I have no doubt that there is, because all the Kouloubali go back to a common ancestor prior to the thirteenth century, one of whose descendants, allying himself by marriage to the Kefta clan, founded the branch of Kouloubali composed of the so-called masa-rin' families (1).

[614]

1. By the term masa-rin', the traditionists mean, in addition to the ruling Kefta and their followers, various families who are closely connected with them. The following are prominently mentioned: the Kouloubali, the Konaté and the Kourouma. Not all the members of these dyamu, even the Kefta, are masa-rin'; only certain branches are.

The Bambara of the Tarikh-es-Soudan

● 175 The Bambara, established in the area with which we are concerned before or after the Kouloubali, whose traditions we have just discussed, have no precise traditions - at least none which give any detail. The general history of all of these peoples is doubtful.

To be sure, the Tarikh-es-Soudan does allude to the Bambara, but it is difficult to tell in what sense the term is used, since it often simply means "pagans." However, in the following citations, it seems to me that the Tarikh does refer to the Bambara here studied, all the more so because in this chronicle,

175 the principalities of Kala, Bendougou and Sébéridougou correspond to territories west of Djenné and Dia which have been under the domination of the clans of Ségou and Kaarta.

The Tarikh-es-Soudan reports: "When Askia Daoud was addressing the chief of Djenné, El Amin, he said: 'We put you at the head of a district and you are not watching over it properly, because the Bambara have managed to acquire privileges which they had ceased to have.'" This was in 1558 and the last words in the passage show that before that period the Bambara had enjoyed an important position.

According to the same chronicle, when the Moroccans arrived in 1691 [sic, probably 1501] [20] the countries of the middle Niger which had been enjoying relative peace under king Soughaï, were being terrorized, especially around Djenné, by the Bambara aided, incited and even led by the Peul chief of Macina.

In 1599 a great many Bambara had been recruited into the army of Macina by Hamedi Amina, the sultan of the country, who was stirring up a general rebellion against the Moroccans.

In 1600, on orders from the Moroccan pasha Djouder, the caïd [alcaide] El Mostapha-et-Torki led an expedition against Macina, and the Bambara, having been abandoned by the people of Macina, were cut off in a forest and massacred in large numbers.

In 1644, when his troops were fleeing before the combined forces of the pasha and the askia, Hamedi Amina had to flee also, leaving quantities of booty behind. He and his followers took refuge with the Bambara, who appropriated anything that came within their borders.

Finally, the Tarikh-es-Soudan mentions that in 1645 the Bambara rebelled against the chiefs of Sana and Farko and sacked Sibila, the capital of the Sana region.

It is of course true that account must be taken of the fact that Es-Sadi, the author of the Tarikh-es-Soudan, is likely to include all pagans under the designation "Bambara." However, there is no ground for assuming that the Bambara with whom we are concerned are not meant when it is a question of the regions mentioned in the citation. Indeed, the contrary is the case, since

175 no other pagan people of the area has such a long tradition of warlike actions.

*173 175 The old Sudanese chronicle never mentions a Bambara king. According to the traditionists, the Bambara villages of the area lived independently of each other before the time of Biton. They sometimes embarked on joint raids against certain neighbors or carried out other important enterprises together. On such occasions they used bands organized and equipped in line with the usual native practice (1).

1. See in the foregoing how they acted as mercenaries to the sultan of Macina, for example.

[21] There is nothing surprising in the fact that a chief of one of these bands may have succeeded in creating a kind of empire in the manner of a Samori. Indeed, according to Quintin (1) there is a tradition that a certain Kaladian Kouloubali,

1. See also Delafosse in this connection.

a descendant of Barama Ngolo and living at Markadougou-ba, established his authority over both banks of the Niger in the Ségou area around 1600, either by his own efforts or aided by his sons. The Tarikh-es-Soudan makes no mention of this ruler, nor does the dyeli Karé Tammoura. History in that part of the world abounds in missing links and divergencies of this kind.

Kaladian's empire probably did not last long in any case, but Biton Kouloubali, founder of the empire of Ségou which we shall discuss, was precisely the grandson of Kaladian through Soma and Danfassari.

2. History

Sources

Thus, a general history of the Bambara is yet to be written; all that is known in any detail relates to the clans of Ségou and of Kaarta and, even in this limited area, the knowledge is anything but well-documented.

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● 175 The literature on the subject that has already been published, as well as the accounts given here, necessarily rests on native traditions which are vague, confused and shrouded in legend, and it is difficult to establish real, precise and consistent facts from such sources. So it is that we shall later see, presented as a fact in the earliest history of the clan of Kaarta, that the old fa Siné only granted hospitality and a limited alliance to Sounsan because a bird had told him of the power that was eventually to accrue to the family of the fugitive.

Also in this connection there is, for example, a version concerning Mamari, called Biton Kouloubali, the founder of the clan of Ségou. Mamari had created a garden on the banks of the Niger for his mother. It was there, one day, that a "water genie" (dyiden') appeared to him at the very spot where Monseigneur Hacquart died. [22] The genie urged Mamari to follow and was so insistent and so persuasive that Mamari yielded (1).

1. On the subject of water genies, compare this legend with the tales entitled "Les Dyide de Djenné" [The Water Genies of Djenné] in Contes du Sénégal et du Niger [Tales of the Senegal and the Niger] by Zeltner, pp. 173 ff.

Drawn by his guide, he penetrated to the depths of the water without the least discomfort and so came to a miraculous city. There, the genie showed him a heap of gold and silver and a pile of grain and said: "Choose: gold and silver mean wealth; grain means power. Now what does wealth signify if one is at the mercy of a powerful man; the master controls everything. If, however, you choose the grain, sow it in an enormous field and work hard to have a large harvest. Then leave the harvest to the birds and your power will extend to all the lands touched by the marauding birds."

Mamari carried off the grain, preserved it carefully and, when winter came, sowed it in an enormous field. During the whole season he worked hard at cultivating and, when harvesttime

*173
●175 came, everyone was astounded to see him leave everything for the birds.

The oracle was fulfilled at once. Biton ruled from Timbuktu to the Atlantic. And the dyeli, Karé Tammoura, who told me the legend, adds that thereafter there was a very strange thing at Ségou: a combination animal and plant which the Bambara called Sanu-so or "golden horse." Ahmadou, the son of Omar, had a mosque erected on the spot where Sanu-so was wont to appear but, all the same, it did not disappear until the arrival of the French. Even since then, there are those who say that on certain days strange lights appear at the spot on the Niger where Monseigneur Hacquart died and where the genie appeared to Mamari.

[171] This fable about a local genie is not in itself remarkable, but when compared to the legend about Ngolo Dyara (see later, p. 51) and to many other similar ones current in the Sudan (2),

2. See, especially, the legend of Ndyadyane Ndyaye in "Légendes et coutumes sénégalaises [Senegalese Legends and Customs] by H. Gaden, 1912, and the "Dyide de Djenné" in Contes du Sénégal et du Niger, by Zeltner.

what it really is becomes clear: the figurative expression of a native mentality about which the European is usually very ill-informed and which deserves to be noted here briefly.

778 [23] Anything that departs from the average, the ordinary, or the normal -- power, wealth, success, ... illness, poverty, misfortune -- to any extraordinary degree or in a suspicious way, is, for the Bambara in particular and for the Black in general, the manifestation of an occult force acting either spontaneously or after provocation.

643 778 That is why, in the eyes of a native, a chief (a paramount chief, of course) is out of the common run, not so much because of the position he occupies as because of the magic powers attributed to him (1). Power is merely the reflection of his

*173 From 1870 to 1878, Nyéné-n-ba kept up a running fight with his predecessors' partisans after settling at Samba-la, not far from Touna.

Mamourou, who ruled for only a few days, was succeeded by Kara-moko, who had no fixed residence and who was plagued by serious family squabbles. Being unable to come to any sort of agreement with his cousins Togoma and Ma-n-son, both sons of Tyé-folo, he had them poisoned. He was himself poisoned in 1887.

175 When Colonel Archinard entered Ségou on April 6, 1890, he summoned Kara-moko's successor and gave him authority over the natives under the direction of a French resident, Captain Hunderberg. However, Mari Dyara, who had accepted this role, secretly organized a plot to assassinate the resident and thus put an end to our control. This treason was punished as it deserved: Mari was shot by the army.

Massa-si Bo-dyan was then called to occupy the post, but former hatred made his position untenable. Direct administration henceforth appeared to be the only possible solution to safeguard our interests.

[102]

*173 Genealogical Table of the Chiefs of the Clan of Ségou
(1660-1861)

The Kouloubali

Barama-Ngolo

Soma

fa Siné

Mamari, called Biton
(1660-1710)

Bakari	Dé-koro	(Dyon-kolo)
1710	1711-1736	

#173 with the chief of Bondou. He thus found himself drawn into making peace with the chief of Khasso, who was an ally of the Bondou chief.

[117] Nyaralen Gran (1835-1844). We know nothing about this nine-year reign.

Mamari Kan-dyan (1844-1854). He left Yelimané for Khondié and then settled at Nioro. He was in command of the Massa-si when El Hadj Omar appeared. Before this, he had ousted the Diawara from Nioro, where he had settled; but he had had to fight for seven years with these same Diawara and his authority had only just begun to seem established when the Foutanké prophet arrived. Mamari Kan-dyan was unable to resist and fell into the hands of the invader. At first his life was spared but he was finally put to death, as will be described in what follows (see Chapter 6, Islam).

Those of the Massa-si who eluded El Hadj Omar fled to Bangani (Foula-dougou), where they settled under the authority of their chief, Diringa Mori, who died 16 years later.

Under Boussei, who succeeded Diringa Mori, the Massa-si broke up into two groups: one settled at Guémou-koura (Kaarta-binné) and the other emigrated to Diani (Gadiaga).

On the death of Boussei there were new migrations. Modi Siré, son of Gran, settled first at Fata-fin and then at Félé-ba, villages near Badoumké; another group went to the Bondou area and settled at the village of Kidira.

Dama, who succeeded Boussei, abandoned Kidira and went to Goré, near Daramané, and then to Guémou, south of Diani (Gadiaga). There he divided the Massa-si into seven villages: Guémou, Dyidyan, Dyané-khassé, Taroutallah, Madi-na, Nyaraléa Dyogou and Mousa Makhana.

#175 After the French had taken Nioro, Dama, who had always been hostile to the "people of Fouta," was called to Kaarta by Colonel Archinard. He settled at Farabougou and died there. When Ségou was captured by the French, we chose Dama's son, Bo-dyan, to govern there.

Dama was succeeded as chief of the Massa-si by Allahi, whose authority lasted for only nine months. He was succeeded

*173 797 Omar then proceeded to Nioro, where he confiscated the treasure of the Massa-si, put to death the children of Mamadi Kandia and imposed Islam on the people of Nioro. In particular, he ordered polygamous individuals to keep only four of their wives and to turn over the rest to his talibés.

These victories and the excesses that accompanied them made inevitable the revolt of the native populations. Omar was then besieged at Nioro, while the rest of his army was blocked in the Kolomina area. He managed to raise the siege and get away to aid his people at Kolomina. In spite of a serious defeat at Kandiari, he succeeded in freeing Kolomina.

Thence he returned to Nioro and, after putting Mamadi Kandia to death, succeeded in quelling the Bambara revolt. Then Kaarta was conquered and Omar settled at Nioro, which he fortified.

The Diawara, aroused and led by Karouga, revolted. Omar defeated them at Diabigué, was halted at Bambéro, but finally put down this rebellion of the Kingui region.

Then he entered into negotiations with Ahmadou, Sultan of Macina, hoping to arrange an alliance to make a joint attack on Ségou. Ahmadou refused and marched against Omar, only to be defeated at Kassakaré.

Omar then made a deal with Touro-koro Mari, the chief of Ségou, but the latter, accused of betraying his clan, was put to death by Kégné-Mari and replaced by Ali (1856).

●175 797 It was at this point that Omar came up against the French at Médina. For a period of three years his activity was limited to the west by the affairs of Médina, Koundian and Guémou (1856-1859).

In 1859, revolt again threatened in Kaarta. Omar left Nioro, which he turned over to his devoted follower, Moustapha. Through Bagofna, he passed around the Diangounté region to fall on the Bambara of Kaarta and Bélédougou at Marikoya. The capture of Marikoya was echoed far and wide. This agglomeration was a kind of capital of [342] paganism, and it is said that Omar, rushing about the burning village, kept running into magic objects which had been scattered about for the purpose of killing him. He touched each of these objects with the tip of

175
797 his iron-shod staff and pronounced a formula of exorcism; at once the object threw itself in the flames.

After his defeat, Karouga, chief of the Diawara, fled to Ségou. He persuaded Ali to give him an army and marched against Omar.

The latter defeated him in the northern part of Bélédougou.

The Bambara of the Bélédougou and Fadougou areas were likewise beaten, as was a new army from Ségou which had come to help them.

Since there was nothing left with which to feed his people at Marikoya, Omar decided to march on Ségou. An episode, characteristic of these times of banditry, marked his departure. He decided to abandon the women whom his faithful followers had taken from the conquered because they were useless mouths to feed, so he turned the poor creatures over to the fetishists.

Omar entered Myamina in April, 1860. When he had exhausted the provisions in that region he marched on Oftala, the village of Ali's son Tata and captured it. Sansanding was delivered to him by the Khomma people because of their hatred for the Cissé people.

Ahmadou, Sultan of Macina, wrote Omar to ask him to leave the country and then sent an army against him. This force, commanded by Ahmadon's uncle, Ba Lobba, reached Kani, below Sansanding on the Niger, and then Ali, chief of Ségou, joined Ba Lobba at Tio.

Omar crossed the Niger in January, 1861, defeated the allies and entered Ségou on March 10, 1861.

The two Bambara clans of Ségou and Kaarta were now finally defeated.

Within a few months of his arrival at Ségou, Omar received the submission of the former Bambara officials: army chiefs and territorial chiefs. Among other conditions, he imposed on them the following orders: they were to shave their heads; to stop drinking fermented beverages; to eat no more unclean meats; to make the ritual prayers; and for each of them, to have no more than four legitimate wives. He demanded hostages from the sons or brothers of chiefs or other notables, and incorporated them into his <u>tofa</u>.

175 797 When Omar left Ségou in April, 1862, [343] to march against Handallahi, he left his son Ahmadou in command, backed by a guard of 1,500 tabilés and the support of the Bambara chiefs who had sworn loyalty to him.

3. The Results

175 614 797 It is usual to consider Omar's warlike enterprises solely from the point of view of Islam and to attribute their purpose and result to Peul proselytism. Such an explanation is dubious at best and in any case is very ambiguous. This question, however, involves a detailed study which is beyond the scope of this work, so we shall limit ourselves here to the subject at hand.

Omar replaced the clans of Kaarta and Ségou with the clan of the "people of Fouta," claiming that his conquests were due to a desire to convert the Bambara to Islam. In reality, this Moslem label did not change the native customs in the least; the clan of the people of Fouta proved to be conditioned and dominated by the same principles as the clans of Kaarta and Ségou.

The composition of this clan is a proof of this similarity. Omar and his community are at the head of an association made up of the tabilés, the people of Fouta, the usual sofa and ton'-dyon', and the tuburu, who are people converted to Islam by force. All these people, linked by material interests, are brought together by a common faith. Leaders of the slaves hold important military or political posts. What is there in all this that is not already to be found in what we have discussed before? The means used to gain power are identical, and the only thing that differs is the label. It is claimed that Islam instead of paganism constitutes the motivating force.

In general, the evolution of this clan differs not at all from that of the clans already discussed; it can be described in the same terms.

175 797 A man of remarkable intelligence and powers of leadership, Omar would probably have given his achievements the cohesion and stability needed to make them endure if he had lived long enough. However, he died too soon before he had

175 reached a point of limiting, at least temporarily, the extent
797 of his conquests.

He left his son Ahmadou to face the worst possible difficulties. Ahmadou had neither Omar's authority nor his prestige to impose them on the chiefs of Fouta whom his [344] father had drawn into his orbit. Therefore they formed a party of malcontents who intrigued against him at the behest and for the profit of his various adversaries or enemies.

He was forced to deal with serious treason fomented against him within his own family by his brothers. He managed to get rid of some of the latter by criminal means. He was one of those fa who, at once weak and cruel, are incapable either of making their authority acceptable or of imposing it in case of need. As a result, Ahmadou was never supported by the confident or devoted affection of his own people.

At the mercy of the implacable and changeable machinations of a small group of his intimates, he was a puppet in the hands of these intriguers.

The occasionally successful expeditions which he led against his enemies and which, at the same time, served to satisfy his subjects' need for booty, had no important political significance. This was because they were carried out without any careful planning which would have made it possible to profit from them by taking local conditions into account.

The net result was that this long reign represented simply a long period of unrest among the members of the clan, accompanied by a brutal exploitation of the conquered people.

What could Islam gain from such a regime? If we set aside, as outside the sphere of our subject, the matter of doctrinal influence, which was the work of Omar, it can be stated that the domination of the fouta-n-ke was an unfortunate development for the spread of Islam among the Bambara people with whom we are here concerned. No adequate organization, comparable to that of Sheik Ahmadou Bari at Macina, was formed to discipline the pagans and to interest them, especially to link them to the destinies of the clan of the Fouta people. The fanaticism of the talibé, the ferocious brutality of the sofa

175 and the political incoherence of the fama all combined to keep
797 the Bambara in a state of perpetual rebellion, either open or latent. Islam itself was not responsible for this state of affairs; rather, it was the incompetence and tyranny of its agents and the political regime in general which were at the root of the implacable hostility of the Bambara.

797 Islam prospers during peaceful eras. In itself it is not in the least antipathetic to pagans; on the contrary, the Bambara live perfectly harmoniously with the faithful, who, for their part, [345] successfully accommodate their brand of Islam to local native customs. That is why the Somono, the Bozo and the Marka are the best-qualified and most successful propagandists for Islam in the Bambara country. It was through their effort that, little by little, Moslem influence slowly penetrated the native atmosphere as if through a process of absorption.

True conversion occurs most often in an unconscious manner as a result of the Sudanization of Islam, whose endless ramifications form a kind of network of capillaries through which the Moslem sap in turn finds its way and, in the process, transforms the native temperament, often without the latter's awareness. The result of this process is a religion which is Islam only in name but which, being perfectly adapted to the purpose, has exercised, still exercises and will for a long time continue to exercise a vital role in the development of native society.

B. Constitution of the Bambara Kingdoms

175 At the beginning of the seventeenth century, the Peul invasion introduced the Bambara into history.

173 175 This history, moreover, begins by a legend: two brothers, Baramangolo and Niangolo, coming from Torone, one moon east of Ségou, succeeded in crossing the Niger on the back of a fish, M'Polio (Heterobrancus), which earned them the cognomen of Kouloubali (without pirogue). Baramangolo, who was good, obtained the heritage of the king of Ségou; Niangolo, who was bad (he had killed the fish M'Polio), could not remain in this peaceful country and went further west to wage war against the people of Mali.

Local traditions confirm this legend. Due to the Sudanese anarchy of the seventeenth century caused by the fall of the Songhaï empire (1591), population movements brought Peul horsemen into contact with Bambara outposts in the region of Diénné. The Peuls imposed their suzerainty, organized the anarchic Bambara, and led them to the conquest of the Ségou and Baïko regions, populated chiefly by the Soninké (the traditions suggest that this conquest was a largely peaceful penetration).

175 Two small kingdoms then established themselves: that of the legendary Baramangolo on the right bank at Ségou, that of Niangolo on the left bank at Sounsana (near Mourdiah). After union with the Soninké was accomplished, the successor of Baramangolo, Kaladian Koulibali (1652-82), had impressive forces at his disposal; he freed himself from the nominal authority of the Moroccan caïds of Diénné, and may even have conducted a victorious attack against Timbuktu. The Bambara star at Ségou dimmed somewhat under his successors, Danfassari (1682-97) and Souma. But in 1712 Souma ceded the throne to the man who was to become the great warrior chief, the Tigi-ton Mamari Koulibali.

For his part, the wicked Niangolo revealed himself to be an adroit politician. uHe married his son Soussa to a Kéita, thus ennobling his family and giving it rights to the ancient Mali empire. Their son Massa was an amiable and adroit monarch who accumulated resources in men and money. His successor, Dénéfali (1710-45), used them well, but his increasing power aroused the distrust of his cousin

175 at Ségou. Bénéfali had the wisdom to avoid a conflict, but his brother, Foulakoro, who took the throne in 1745, was less happily inspired and was crushed in 1754 by Mamari Koulibali.

[47] C. Mamari Koulibali

Here is the veritable creator of the kingdom of Ségou, one of those powerful personalities who crop up from time to time in the Black anarchy, such as a Soundiata or a Sonni Ali. He represents the moment of maximum expansion of the Peul-Bambara conglomerate which was formed in the seventeenth century by interbreeding of the Bambara mass with the feudal Peul from the east.

Mamari Koulibali was essentially a war leader, and the great events of his reign were military events. He subjugated local chiefs; with aid of the Peul he repulsed the assault launched against Ségou by the powerful king of Kong (1725); he liberated the country from the suzerainty of the Soninké Boaré and took their capital, Kirango (1740); finally, solicited by the Soninké of Mourdiah, he destroyed Sounsana, capital of the brother kingdom of the descendants of Niangolo. He killed their chief, Foulakoro (1754), and unified all the Bambara of the Niger Valley. Having assembled a redoubtable army, which he even endowed with a fleet and a corps of engineers, he was able to impose his sovereignty on the Peul kingdom of Macina and may even have menanced Timbuktu. It was during the course of his reign that one sees an important evolution in the structure of Bambara society.

D. Reforms of Mamari Koulibali

175 567 It was in taking into account the role of slaves in the army that Mamari Koulibali was to revolutionize the ancestral society (see the traditional social organization).

He managed, first of all, to take away the greatest number of men, free or slaves, from their family community, in order to make of them Ton-dyon (slaves of the ton [ton is the largest unit of social organization]. To do this, he used the following methods: when a criminal was condemned to a fine, Mamari paid it; if a man was condemned to death, Mamari pardoned him; when one of his subjects could not pay his taxes, Mamari freed him of his debt on condition that the man put himself or one of his sons at the disposition of the

175 sovereign. In all cases the man, although pardoned, was deprived
567 of his personal liberty and became the emperor's chattel.

Mamari next wished to assure himself of the personal fidelity
[578] of his Ton-dyon by enrolling them in cults dedicated to his person. Thus, the old ton was transformed into a brotherhood with Mamari as both political and religious chief. In this way he was able to replace the political anarchy and social structure of the old Bambara regime by a new organization, despotic, very efficient militarily when fully controlled by the chief, but sometimes very dangerous to the stability of the country, as soon was seen.

E. Successors of Mamari

175 Mamari's son, Denkoro (1755-57), was to be the first victim of this all-powerful army. Exasperated by his cruelties, the military chiefs assassinated him and replaced him by his brother, Ali.[48] A Moslem, Ali wanted to propagate Islam and to forbid the use of fermented beverages and the worship of spirits. The Ton-dyon chiefs then massacred Ali and all of the Koulibali family, except two girls who were saved by one of the chiefs, N'Golo Diara. Different chiefs then contended for power: Ton-Mansa, then Kaniouba-Niouma, then Kafa-Diougou, who, all of them, reigned merely a short while before dying a violent death. Finally, N'Golo Diara, descendant of a great family who had become enslaved to Mamari and who, as we have seen, saved his daughters and then married one of them, re-established order, moved the capital to Ségou-Sikoro, and resumed the work of the great Tigi-ton.

In the course of his long reign, (1766-90), N'Golo knew how to make himself respected and loved by his subjects and how to impose his will elsewhere; he established his authority over the Macina region, the Sokolo region, at Diénné, and Timbuktu. He only failed against the Mossi of Yatenga.

Meanwhile, the elder branch of the Koulibali family, crushed by Mamari in 1754 and chased from Bélédougou, rose again. If the successors of the unfortunate Foulakoro, Sey Bamana and Deni Babo, were nothing more than pillaging chiefs raiding at Kaarta, Bélédougou, and Khasso, Sira Bo did establish a stable kingdom with Guémou as capital. His successor, Dessé Koulibali (1788-99) even believed himself strong enough to impose his suzerainty on the Bambara of Ségou.

175 The occasion seemed favorable. After the death of the great N'Golo-Diara, two of his sons disputed the power. Dessé had the bad luck to support the loser. The victor, Mansong (1792-1808), came at once to punish the Kaarta inhabitants and destroyed Guémou, but he could not establish himself in the region.

After this, the evolution of the two kingdoms is roughly parallel. When the people of Ségou are occupied in the east against the people of Macina, the people of Kaarta seize the occasion to raid in the west against the Diawara and the Kassonké. When things go poorly in Macina, the people of Ségou revenge themselves by forays into the territory of the Massassi of Kaarta, who, less powerful, then have to relinguish their expansionist plans. Moreover, somber hours approach for the Bambara. In the east Ahmadou Bari founded a powerful Peul kingdom (1810) in the Macina, and his grandson Hamadou-Hamadou exerts more and more pressure on the kingdom of Ségou. To the west the great Massassi king, Bodian Moriba (1815-32), by repeated blows has exhausted the forces of the Diawara and the Kassonké. This done, he rules over Nioro, but at the same time suppresses those who could have helped him resist the Moslem push of the Toucouleur.

F. The Toucouleur Invasion and the End of the Bambara Kingdoms

175 In 1854 El Hadj Omar, leading his "Talibés" animated by a 197 fierce proselytizing spirit, occupied Nioro and Kaarta and attempted to impose Islam on the Bambara population. The Bambara resisted, supported by their racial brothers of Ségou who had forgotten, too late, the old quarrels. El Hadj Omar, vanquished by the French before Medina, [49] abandoned his dream of a push to the west and sought compensation by turning toward Ségou.

175 The Bambara then put aside their family resentments and joined the Peul of Macina, who were equally menaced by the Toucouleur expansion. But they were up against too strong a foe. Tata, son of the king Ali Diara, resisted for five days against El Hadj Omar1s howitzers at Oïtala on the Niger (1861), then succumbed. Hamadou-Hamadou, who had come to his aid, was beaten at Sansanding. Ségou opened its doors; Ali Diara was put in irons. His brother, Kégué-Mari, continued the fight against Ahmadou, son

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175 of El Hadj Omar, up to April 6, 1890, the day French troops under Lt. Colonel Archinard delivered Ségou from the cruel Moslem occupation.

The Bambara did not long accept the French yoke. To put an end to their plots, the French resident, Captain Underberg, had to execute the king Mari Diara, an act which inspired several local revolts, chiefly in the Sénoufo region. But the new Fama, Bodian, supported by the French, was able to rapidly re-establish peace. Moreover, the destruction of the Toucouleur kingdom of Macina by Colonel Archinard deprived the rebel Bambara of all possibility of outside support. The Ségou kingdom was definitively pacified in 1893.

CHAPTER 6

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

I. Traditional Structure of Bambara Society

A. Social and Political Organization

182 Traditional Bambara social organization is entirely tied up with religious organization; moreover, the social organization determines the whole economic organization to such an extent that the latter cannot be studied independently.

114 In fact, we still know very little about Bambara social organization. Some good records are available to us in the work of Monteil (1), Aubert and Ortoli (2), Delafosse (3), Labouret (4),

1. Monteil, Les Bambara du Ségou et du Kaarta [The Bambara of Segou and Kaarta].

2. Aubert et Ortoli, Coutumier juridique de l'A.O.F. [French West African Common Law].